

PEACE NEWS

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In the Melting-Pot

THE tempo of change in British society is now prodigious. The new measures for the limitation and concentration of industrial production announced by Mr. Lyttleton in the Commons on March 4 are revolutionary. For a long time now we have insisted that the only hope of waging successful war against a National Socialist society is to go National Socialist ourselves. That axiom has often been misunderstood. It does not mean that we see, or anticipate, no distinction at all between British and German National Socialism. On the political side the differences are considerable, and we hope they will not diminish; but so far as the fundamental economic structure of society is concerned the differences are bound to become less and less with every day that the war is waged.

The new measures mean simply that, economically speaking, within a very little while, Britain will be a National Socialist country. Production of the main types of consumer goods is to be concentrated in a few enterprises. Other things being equal, those factories will be chosen for the purpose, which are situated in areas where there is a relatively small demand for labour in munition-factories. The industries will be invited first to plan their own consolidation; but if they are recalcitrant, they will be compelled. No further recourse will be tolerated to the wasteful and inflationary "spread-over," whereby output is rationed among all the firms in an industry, which pass their vastly increased overheads on to the consumer in the form of increased prices. The redundant factories—redundancy being estimated on a minimal allowance of consumer goods for the home market and "the largest practicable" amount for export—will be peremptorily closed down. The principle of Government compensation is decisively rejected. The effort will be to "compensate" the closed factories from the profits of those which remain in operation. In the nature of things this compensation will be trivial in comparison with the loss.

For, although hopes are held out to the closed factories of their revival from cold storage after the war, it is difficult to imagine that these hopes will be realized. Even *The Times* confesses, in regard to preserving the good-will of the closed factories, that "it is easier to require this to be done than to do it". Once production in a factory is completely suspended, it is very improbable that it will be resumed, even supposing there were a reasonable chance of the return of effective demand in the post-war economic and social confusion. Unless our economic system is totally changed, that demand will be met by the factories which have remained in operation. And the only way of remedying a colossal injustice will be to enforce a far greater measure of state-control. It is now manifest even to the blind that British industry can never again escape back to laissez-faire.

The adjustment required, says *The Times* truly, is both "rapid and enormous". Without a shadow of doubt this is the most revolutionary change in the structure of British society since the industrial system itself was introduced. And the point is that, as the measures stand, they introduce essentially the same kind of economic organization which distinguishes Fascism from Communism. It is a rigorously controlled and limited system of private ownership. The industries in question are not nationalized, but rationalized by the State. Nominally, they set their own house in order; but the fact is very different. Willy-nilly, they become a single combine or corporation, whose raw materials, plant, labour and prices are directly under the control of the State.

For what, then, the capitalist like

LAURENCE HOUSMAN on

THE wording of the First Commandment, as delivered by Moses to the Children of Israel, is significant of what followed in that people's history. The words were not "I am the Lord thy God; there is no other God but me"—but "thou shalt have no other God but me . . . for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God".

And so the history of Israel started with the idea that there were rival gods, they themselves having one tribal god who was to exclude all others. They did not begin by thinking that other gods were non-existent, only that they were evil, hostile, and rivals to their own tribal god, Jehovah. Other nations had a plurality of gods, and if these nations shared their gods it did not disturb the system.

On that system the Mosaic conception of God was a great advance. The Israelites were taught that they needed one god and one only, and though their religious code was full of taboos, forms, and restrictions which are now obsolete (and was therefore not an expression of that Truth which is eternal), it did promulgate a moral

SUPPLEMENT

Our Fund!

KIND supporters of the Fighting Fund have sent suggestions how we may secure that steady inflow of £50 a week at which we aim.

One of the simplest is that all who can do so should tax themselves weekly simply by paying an extra penny for the paper when they get it through a local group—thus saving wasteful postage. The suggestion seems particularly appropriate to this issue with the Community Supplement. Contributions last week: £31 19s. 2d., making the total £1575 14s. 9d.

THE EDITOR

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law which has served us to this day. We can still say that there is nothing morally wrong in the Ten Commandments, even though their interpretation has sometimes been oppressive and superstitious.

But at the point where the Hebrew conception of God was limited there was weakness in result. It was still a tribal conception, and so, when in their fighting they were defeated or subjugated by other tribes, it was natural that they should regard the gods of those other tribes as having power, and should think it well to propitiate them by adoption and worship.

Thus, into Hebrew history came a sharp conflict between a system which admitted no god but one and a system which admitted many. Hebrew monotheism was isolationist. There was no thought in it (until the later prophets) of converting others to the worship of "the true god", for the policy to which their conception of a tribal god committed them was a policy not of conversion, but of extermination.

Lord Rotherwick may well ask, are we fighting? Fighting for economic "liberty" we cannot be, nor would it be worth fighting for. Political liberty, perhaps; but though it has not suffered the same devastating inroads as economic liberty, it is seriously diminished. Spiritual liberty is the safest choice. But spiritual liberty is something which must perish if it cannot be exercised. The British economic revolution is yet another summons to the Pacifist movement to decide what are the liberties essential to human living and how, in these desperate days, they may be preserved.

Rival Gods

They had at least this excuse, that they observed a moral code far above that of the surrounding nations; it was a code which recognized righteousness and justice, and to some extent even kindness and mercy. But in the mind of the people the rival gods, with their evil accompaniments, were real; they existed, they had power. It was only much later that the more spiritual truth emerged, "As for the gods of the heathen, they are but wood and stone, the work of men's hands."

And as that more spiritual idea grew, the idea of the nature and character of the true God changed also. In the prophetic mind he became more universal, less and less requiring forms and ceremonies from his true worshippers, independent of blood offering and sacrifice.

The prophets became very iconoclastic to the old notions; and though Jehovah's name remained unchanged, though the prophets allowed historical continuity to stand for all it was worth, a conflict was going on—if not between rival gods, between rival conceptions of God. The priests, the formalists, were still ceremonial and tribal; the prophets were libertarian and spiritual, feeling their way to that more universal conception which the discovery of the singleness of God was bound to bring about, if he was to remain a god of mercy and justice.

BIBLE-WORSHIP

But even under the Christian dispensation, up to a few centuries ago, the gradual departure of the prophetic conception of God from the old tribal conception in the earlier historical books of the Old Testament has been badly obscured for us by Protestant Bible-worship—the attempt to make all Scripture, from end to end, a true expression without error of the eternal and universal Father as revealed by Christ, in spite of the most flagrant contradictions as to his nature and attitude to man.

So, largely as a result of Protestant insistence on the verbal inspiration of Scripture, rival conceptions of God (or mixed and inconsistent conceptions) have lasted to this day, and believers in war can quote statements from the Old Testament in absolute contradiction to the teaching of Christ, in favour of our anti-Christian device of trying to cast out evil by evil. Indeed, one might almost say that superstitious Bible-worship is mainly responsible for Christian acceptance of war today. Without that backing its apologists would not have a leg to stand on.

It is significant that in the first century AD Christianity found a far wider and readier acceptance among the Greeks, and later among the Romans, than among the Jews. What was the reason?

The popular Jewish ideal was, to the very last, tribal and exclusive: the Greek was expansive and permeating. It had gone out into other lands and had infected the greatest unifying power of that time, Rome, with many of its ideals and much of its philosophy. Greek polytheism was far less an opponent of Christianity than Judaic monotheism, sterilized by tradition and tribal exclusiveness.

ROMAN POLICY

Up to a point, the policy of the Roman Empire favoured the growth of Christianity. Rome was tolerant of all religions, so long as their followers submitted and gave to it political allegiance. Rome itself embodied a new form of monotheism—the god-head of the State; its symbol was Caesar.

Had Christians consented to worship Caesar as much as many of them worship him now, they might have gone unmolested; but they refused, they became conscientious objectors to State-worship; and at intervals, for about three centuries, you have the amazing spectacle of the strongest worldly power, the "Prince of this world", trying to exterminate a small sect and failing—failing so conspicuously that at last a great emperor, a wise and wily politician, gave it—first toleration, and then recognition as the State religion.

From that date on, Christianity fell into compromising alliance with Caesar, and, accepting the protection of the temporal power, gave sanction and blessing to its instrument—war. It took the rival god to its bosom.

So long, however, as the temporal power was a unity, the inconsistency and contradiction of that new alliance were not immediately apparent; but when the Roman power broke, and States became divided, Christendom became divided also, and all down the Middle Ages you have the abominable spectacle of Christians fighting against Christians for worldly power.

The main reason why this departure from the Christian ethic and the mind of Christ was not perceived, even by very good men, was that war had secured first the tolerant acceptance and at last the blessing of the "Holy Mother Church".

(To be concluded.)

Commentary

Edited by "Observer"

Operation for Unimaginativeness?

BY all the signs this year is likely to prove the hardest the British nation has ever lived through. "I cannot sufficiently impress upon you the seriousness of the food situation", said Mr. Hudson the other day; and it is only the congenital British lack of imagination which prevents this from being universally recognized. Those who live in and by the country and are suddenly faced with a reduction of rationed feeding-stuffs by one half know better what is coming than the townspeople.

Perhaps the experience is necessary, under Providence, to shock us out of our grievous insularity—that complacency, born of ignorance and long security, which enables us to use the weapon of blockade so lightly, with so

little understanding of what it means in suffering for the innocent and the helpless. Such a purgation may well be the indispensable preliminary to our being willing to collaborate in the building of a new world. Our deficiency in imagination must be supplied by experience.

The Balkans

THERE is still a spate of wishful thinking about the situation in the Balkans, though it now appears to be generally accepted that Russia intends to do nothing. But the public is still encouraged to believe that Yugoslavia is recalcitrant. No doubt she would rather not give free "passage" to German troops: but there is no ground at all for imagining that there is any re-

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

sistance to the German "new order". Here is an extract from a speech of the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, reported in *The Times* (Mar. 7), which speaks for itself:

There is no other instance in history where relations between countries have developed as quickly as they have in the case of Germany and Yugoslavia. This development has been supplemented by a remarkable rapprochement in the political relations between both countries. Today economics and politics are so closely connected that a favourable development of economic life cannot be imagined without being accompanied by appropriate political development.

Relations between Yugoslavia and Germany today are so friendly that collaboration is becoming closer. The fact that this collaboration in the economic field has over-ridden all political difficulties proves that the future of Yugoslav-German relations can be regarded as secured.

The German System

WILL those pacifists and non-pacifists who find fault with me for insisting, in and out of season, that the German "new order" is a serious thing—possibly an enduring contribution to the solution of the economic problems of Europe—read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the two articles on "German Economy and the War" in *The Times* of March 7 and 8? I cannot summarize them here. But I quote the conclusion of the first:

Hitler is already trying to change Europe so radically in favour of the "master people" that nothing will ever be able to change it back. Millions of workers against their will have been caused to migrate. They do not want to migrate again. Industry is withdrawing from the Ruhr and reappearing in Eastern Europe. Markets lost overseas through the blockade have been replaced to the extent of at least 80 per cent. by increased trade within Europe. Germany has already perfected a clearing system, controlled from Berlin, whereby 11 European countries balance their exchange multilaterally, all transactions being calculated in Reichsmarks. No foreign exchange is needed. And by price control violent market fluctuations have so far been prevented. Hitler aims at making trade with Germany so advantageous that all European countries will want to continue, whatever the result of the war. Few German industrialists have any personal sympathy for the Nazi political creed. But as far as business is concerned they know where they are. A fatal blow might be struck at the Nazi cause if the democracies could show that they had a better programme for Europe than Hitler.

Meeting a Need

THE crucial sentence is this: "Hitler aims at making trade with Germany so advantageous that all European countries will want to continue, whatever the result of the war." If, like ostriches, we persist in believing that this aim is impossible of achievement, merely because we do not like the idea; if we persist in cherishing the notion, sedulously circulated by the minds in control of our propaganda machine, that the German economic "new order" is a grinding tyranny imposed by military duress—then we are preparing for ourselves a most bitter disillusionment: a disillusionment that we shall have deserved. For in what public pronouncement has the British Government ever recognized, even by so much as an implication, that the economic unification of Europe is the primary necessity of the modern world? If Britain cannot offer Europe the satisfaction of this need, it has nothing to offer Europe at all. The "liberty" it purports to offer is an empty phrase—as unreal as the "liberty" of British industry itself will be after this war.

Are We Doomed?

THE root of the trouble is that 95 per cent. of the people of Britain really think, like the Government, in obsolete categories. National independence is the political "sumum bonum". It is a great and glorious tradition; but unfortunately the structure of the world has grown out of it. Today, national independence means international anarchy—and war without end. Instead of undertaking the arduous but necessary work of educating the nation into some sort of understanding of the new world, the Government shares and reinforces all its fatal illusions.

When one seriously ponders the fact that a Sir Robert Vansittart is of all things "chief diplomatic adviser" to H.M. Government, it must appear to the imaginative man that we are doomed. *Quem deus perdere vult, prius dementat*: "Whom God wills to destroy, he first makes mad." But we are not doomed, except by our own moral and mental inertia; and I am tempted to cry, with Blake, "Awake, Albion, awake!" For I believe that Britain has a contribution to make to the new world: if only she would awake from the lethargy of mental sloth.

Recognize Good—and Evil

BUT what shall we do? I believe that the true answer is not the prerogative of pacifists. It is one in which all men of understanding and imagination—pacifist and non-pacifist—can unite. They must demand that an authoritative voice goes out from this country to lift this struggle out of the stalemate of mutual starvation. It must be lifted on to a different level by a new vision. We must see and declare that there is good as well as evil in what Germany is doing and that there is evil as well as good in what we are doing.

As this loyal Germany is fighting for order; and we for liberty. These are not, and never have been, mutually exclusive: on the con-

trary, it is on their rightful combination that civilization itself depends. But as things are, at the level of illusion and mutual destructiveness in which we blindly tear at one another, German order is oppression and British liberty is anarchy. And the tragedy is that apparently we dare not emerge from this world of blindness and illusion. Any responsible statement of our peace-aims would compel us out of it. But equally any responsible statement of our peace-aims would enable Germany to take us at our word.

Hope from the Vatican

CAN the deadlock be broken? There seems to be less and less chance of it as the war goes blindly on. More and more is the specious unity of silence imposed on critical opinion by the automatism of the state-machine. Even in writing as I have written, I jeopardize the existence of *Peace News*. One looks desperately outside the country for a gleam of hope. Can it be in the Daily Mail message from Geneva (Mar. 6) that his Holiness the Pope intends to make "a supreme effort" for peace?

His decision is believed to have been taken at "a meeting of 14 cardinals and high Vatican dignitaries. They felt that mediation was opportune 'on the eve of what threatens to be the greatest calamity of the age'."

I think I discern an echo of the Pope's pre-occupation in the striking difference between the Archbishop of Canterbury's statement, in response to the King's request that March 23 shall be a Day of National Prayer, and that of Cardinal Hinsley. In the Anglican statement there is not a word about peace; but in the Roman Catholic there is this:

Now we must as Pius XII urges, "unite in one great choir of suppliants" to pray that this deadly strife among nations may speedily end in a true peace based on justice and love.

German Worker's Condition

THE second of the *Times* articles to which I have referred shows in unsparring detail how fallacious is the hope that the German workers will desert Hitler. "No impression can be made by democratic promises of 'freedom from tyranny' or 'liberation from oppression'". And the author goes on to show how vastly improved is the lot of the German worker under Hitler.

His employment is absolutely secure; the cost of living has increased only 4.69 per cent., whereas in Britain it has increased by 14.55

per cent. He is promised—and so far Hitler has kept all his promises to him—6 million really modern houses in the next ten years. "No democratic country has ever promised workers such houses on any conditions whatever". Then there is the pension at 65 for every worker—not a beggarly 10s. or 15s. a week, but "an income sufficient to enable him as long as he lives to maintain the standard of living he has been accustomed to".

The only thing (the writer gloomily concludes) that would really produce any impression upon him would be "proof that the democracies have a better plan" than Hitler, one that is economically sound."

Seeing's Believing

THE *Times* correspondent is asking for the impossible. The only conceivable proof would be the actual introduction of the better system into this country. And how can the British Government offer, for example, a better pension-system than one that is infinitely in advance of anything of which the wildest socialist has ever dreamed? And even supposing, by some tremendous and peaceful internal revolution, such astonishing reforms were introduced into Britain, how on earth could they turn the German against Hitler? How could we guarantee that if he abandons Hitler the benefits of the Hitler regime will be secured to him—and more?

The idea is doubly preposterous: preposterous first, in the assumption that it is possible for Britain to institute in war-time a better system of social services than the German; preposterous, secondly, in the assumption that any German—no matter how sympathetic to the idea of "freedom"—could possibly trust our assurance that we would secure to him the advantages we enjoy (or rather do not enjoy) ourselves. I sincerely hope that our Ministry of Information will circulate the *Times* articles to every member of its staff who is concerned with propaganda. He will at least begin to realize what he is up against.

A Backward "Advance"

A FURTHER notable advance in the spiritual Gleichschaltung of the country has to be recorded in the demand made by the BBC that a number of actors and theatrical producers who have supported the People's Convention should sever their connection with it on pain of losing their employment with the BBC. The new advance backward is only a further application of the principle already

applied in banning Sir Hugh Robertson and his choir. But, of course, theatrical artists in these days are more dependent than ever upon the BBC, and for some of the lesser lights threatened a refusal to comply means real hardship.

Quite frankly, I think the time has come when prominent men and women who attach importance to the principle of freedom of conscience should refuse, of their own motion, to work for the BBC. I will name no names—though a half-dozen occur to me. But I shall refuse to believe in Mr. J. B. Priestley's sincerity if this order is not rescinded and he continues to speak on the radio.

Essence of Nazism

LET me not be misunderstood. I think it is unreasonable to expect that pacifists should be allowed to air their pacifism on the radio. That refusal does not seem to me an invasion of the rights of free speech. That is a legitimate denial of the vast publicity of

P.P.U. ANNUAL MEETING

THE fourth Annual General Meeting, open to all members of the PPU, will be held on April 19 and 20 in Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. Individuals should apply to headquarters for a white ticket of admission at once. Group delegates (who should have been appointed by now) will be sent green tickets. Nominations for officers and Council must be received at headquarters by Monday (Mar. 17), but consent to serve must be obtained before anyone's name is submitted.

the radio to views which are repudiated by the majority of the nation. But to deny employment to an artist, in the neutral medium of his art, because his political opinions are heterodox, seems to me a monstrous and intolerable abuse of power.

If distinguished persons who know (though the BBC authorities may have forgotten) that their own opinions are heterodox continue to work for the BBC knowing that their lesser brethren are being penalized, then I am bound to say that in my judgment they are active accomplices in depriving others of the freedom they claim for themselves. If their consciences are insensitive on this matter, they must be very peculiar consciences indeed.

And, let me make no bones about it, this dragging of the artists' spiritual freedom—this refusal to allow the artist to exercise his art unless he subscribes to the orthodoxy of the State—is the essential vice of Nazism. It is not Nazism to refuse to allow a pacifist to talk pacifism over the wireless; but to refuse to allow a pacifist conductor to conduct or a Communist actor to act, is.

A Crucial Motion

IT is heartening that no fewer than 40 MPs have put their names to a motion of protest:

That this House strongly disapproves of making political opinion the cause of discrimination in employment in the service of the State, or of any local authority, or of any body deriving its authority from the State, except in employment where the national security and the successful prosecution of the war are directly involved.

That is a well-conceived and well-worded motion. If the House of Commons rejects it, then the decline of British democracy will be manifest. The issue is really crucial; and if the Government makes it a matter of "confidence"—as it did with the "MacDonald Bill"—it only becomes more crucial still. For a Government which takes its stand against that motion is by that very fact no longer a democratic Government, even though it may have the support of 95 per cent. of the population and the MPs.

Democracy does not consist in a piece of voting machinery—if it were, Germany would be as democratic as Britain—it consists in an attitude of respect for spiritual liberty as such, and a determination that any encroachment upon it that is not absolutely necessary to the welfare of society shall be resisted and rejected.

France and Blockade

ADMIRAL DARLAN'S outright declaration that, unless the British blockade of unoccupied France is substantially mitigated, he will use French warships to convoy food-ships has been received with the usual and deplorable flourish of propaganda. It is said to be directly inspired by the Nazis, and his disquieting remark that "the Germans are more generous than the British" is described, even by *The Times*, as "a gift to Goebbels."

But this is a smoke-screen. In fact, we have created for ourselves a very serious situation, in which we shall have to give way on peril of forcing the French fleet into action against us: and hidden somewhere in most of the blood-and-thunder commentary we find indications that we are prepared to compromise—not of course on grounds of morality and humanity, for we consider we have a perfect right to starve the French, but simply because the French fleet is in being and will be used against us if we insist on maintaining the blockade.

Actually, it is to be deeply regretted that the British Government has allowed itself to get into this morally indefensible position. The damage we have done to our own professed cause is already very great. And though we are outraged when Darlan gives voice to the bitter judgment that the Germans are more generous to a former enemy than we to a former ally, the fact remains that he is in a better position to judge than we are.

Why Another World War?

How We Missed Collective Security.

by GEORGE G. ARMSTRONG

HOW the Great Betrayal reacted upon those haters of war who had pinned their faith upon the League of Nations, and how their belief has been shattered in the power of mere force to achieve any permanent good.—Demy Rev. 10s. 6d.

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN

ROY WALKER asks

What is Happening in the



THERE are many varieties of genuine pacifism, and it is inevitable that varying circumstances should bring different trends into prominence. But war is exerting on pacifism, as on all other philosophies and institutions, a pressure and a distorting force against which we must be on our guard.

If pacifists are individually prone to introspection, collectively they do not always show the same awareness of the shape and outlook of their movement, and some of the important changes which the war has brought about in the PPU are not widely recognized.

I do not refer simply to tactics. It is clear to everyone that we have cut down public work almost to nothing and widened our social service work. I am concerned here with the attitude which underlies these changes.

It is easier to compare these changes than to compare the differences in tactics. Tactics can be understood and valued only in relation to the circumstances in which they were adopted. Basic ideas are less dependent on the changing scene of contemporary events.

WHAT I wish to say may be shortly summarized. I believe that the tragedy of war has, as I hope temporarily, lessened our faith in the goodness of the ordinary man and our confidence in the effectiveness of his individual decision. This very natural tinge of pessimism has led to an exaggerated emphasis on personal sanctity and on the impersonal forces which shape social development, particularly the economic forces.

This, I think, has widened the gap between the pacifist and the man in the street and led to an attitude of anathy, and sometimes cynicism, toward democracy. It has sent us exploring the specialized and intricate paths of philosophical analysis, psychological technique, spiritual attitudes, and historical interpretation; so that analysis seems to have broken up the simplicity of pacifism and in place of the simple words of a Lansbury, a Sheppard, a Gandhi, our pronouncements are often intelligible only to ourselves.

There is, I think, a constant tendency in idealist movements away

from the simplicity on which alone rests the hope of real universality. The result is to transform "Will you follow Christ?" into "Will you subscribe to these 39 articles?"

The extreme case made out by some who urge the necessity of personal sanctity is that we must eliminate all anger, violence, pride, and greed from our lives before we can hope to eliminate war. The pacifist movement should set the example; and only when the public has followed will war be abolished. The term "war" is widened to include every degree of violence, but the argument is often used as though it is not possible to extirpate the worst excesses of violence until the roots have been abolished.

LET us put the same argument in other terms. Is it true that we cannot hope to end habitual drunkenness until everyone has signed the total abstinence pledge? Or that parents will continue to beat their children to death until all parents have given up slapping children when they are naughty?

Consider the case of Dick Sheppard. In *We Say "No!"* he avers that if he discovers a man attempting to rape his sister he might hit him; if he had a walking-stick he might hit the man with that. He might kill him. But that does not mean that Dick was not a pacifist. Is it true that if everyone was as good and kind as Dick (but carried a walking-stick) war would be inevitable?

The emphasis should, surely, run the other way? Private morality is far higher than social and national morality. Dr. Henry Mess states a commonplace when he says, summing up the verdict of modern sociology:

Men and women who behave with much decency, honesty and kindness in most relationships of life do, as citizens of a State, consent to and participate in devilities in comparison with which the cannibalism of savages is an innocent foible.

The problem for the moment is, how are we to raise national behaviour to the present level of private behaviour? "I tell you, gentlemen," said Dick Sheppard in his famous Candia Letter, "that human nature is better than you think."

(To be concluded.)

LETTERS to the EDITOR

"STOP BOMBING"

SO Mr. A. J. Cook says "STOP BOMBING". Personally, I think it would be a rather good idea, but one must have respect for such things as democratic countries find to be necessary. May I therefore remind our friend that:

At the Commission of Jurists assembled at The Hague in 1923, JAPAN pressed for the entire abolition of bombing, but her proposals were opposed by BRITAIN and FRANCE and, as a result, failed to be adopted. (The Times, Oct. 6, 1937.)

Speaking in the House of Lords on May 22, 1936, regarding his actions at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva in 1932, the Marquess of Londonderry said:

"I had the utmost difficulty at that time, amid the public outcry, in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane, even on the frontiers of the Middle East and India, where it was only due to the presence of the Air Force that we had controlled those territories without the old and heavy cost in blood and treasure." He felt certain that, when the ideals of abolition were examined practically, they would be discovered to be inapplicable in the state of the world today (The Times, May 23, 1935).

STANLEY LONG

Chagford, Devon.

A PLAY OF IDEAS

Thunder Rock. St. Martin's Theatre.

THIS dynamic American play by Robert Ardrey, written shortly after war broke out in Europe, has an inspiring purpose: to re-affirm faith in human nature and in the future of humanity. It is essentially a play of ideas, at once simple and ingenious in design; but more than that—a play of great emotional power, calculated to make us feel as well as think.

Charleston, a political journalist, disillusioned and disgusted by an apparently retrogressive civilization, takes a job as light-keeper on Lake Michigan, in order to escape from it all. Without wireless, books, or newspapers, he diverts himself by recreating in his mind, from details in a passenger-list, the characters of six immigrants lost in a wreck nearly ninety years before. For stage purposes, they come to "life"—and achieve an independence not altogether controlled by the imagination which projects them before us. Three have particular significance. One is a Viennese doctor, a refugee from persecution on account of pioneer experiments with anaesthetics. Another is a consumptive workman, a pitiful product of labour conditions in the English Potteries. The third is a plain, forty-year-old spinster, a veteran fighter for women's emancipation but now despairing of its achievement and hoping to find some degree of self-justification as a Mormon wife and mother.

ESCAPISTS

Charleston had conceived them as glorious pioneers in a comparatively trouble-free world where the magic word "expansion" solved every problem, but he is persuaded by deeper promptings to see them as they really were: escapist from societies which stifled their belief in progress. With the advantage of ninety years foreknowledge, he sees that their apparently hopeless causes were, in fact, successful, to some extent at least, in the course of time.

He realizes that his own sense of futility is parallel with theirs. He can see their lack of faith and endurance in historical perspective and so cannot avoid reconsidering his own position. To stand aside from world troubles in cynical detachment seems no longer tenable. He must forewear his isolation and return to do his part in reforming civilization.

War has broken out, and (although neutral diplomacy no doubt required tactful handling of the subject) the inference is that Charleston will take an active part in its prosecution, either physically or morally. In any case, there is a tacit acceptance of war as the remedy. But to some of us, this last-minute surrender to the conventional method of "improving" world conditions will seem inconsistent and even self-contradictory, the one false note (but too significant to be ignored) in the idealism underlying the whole play.

The implied injunction to fight for the sort of world we want is inspiring until it is translated into realistic terms of the blood and tears of innocent millions. Fight? Yes, but with our minds, not with machine-guns and bombs; with what is best in human nature, not worst. How else will world peace be won?

W. H. GELDER

Scottish pacifists will be interested to know that a Pacifist Service Unit, sponsored by the local PPU group, has been formed in Edinburgh. A mobile canteen for relief of raid victims has been acquired, and other activities of a social service nature are being planned. Offers of help (financial and otherwise) should be sent to the secretary, A. J. McCurdy, 24 Rosburn Terrace, Edinburgh 12.

If after being released from the toils of war, you neglect the arts of peace: if war be your only virtue, the summit of your labours, you will soon find peace the most adverse of your interests.—Milton: The Second Defence of the People of England, 1654 (quoted in The Magistrate, bulletin of the Magistrates' Association.)

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still, less does the acceptance of advertisement imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and on one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed. Nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

Many Mansions

The division in the pacifist movement between "socialists" and "individualists" exists only as long as either group (socialist or individualist) claims to be both sides of the coin. A social revolution by men and women who differ from the rest only in holding a different ideology would be like a beautiful house built from surface level on the assumption that the necessary foundations would grow of their own accord. On the other hand, a change of heart that gets us no further than kind words and conciliatory cups of tea is fatuous and dangerously near hypocrisy.

Now, it is not only in Heaven that there are many mansions. Surely all pacifists may work for the goal in the way for which they are peculiarly suited. Some are fitted by training and ability to plan and push forward a new social structure, others who are unsuited by temperament and natural gifts for public work may do much through the small contacts of daily life to bring about in the unconverted an attitude of mind that will consider new ideas in a friendly spirit. And, fortunately, there are a few who, through genius and opportunity, combine in themselves the activity and spirit of the two more limited types. May we be preserved from splitting into opposing camps! Are the instrumentalists in an orchestra divided because they play different parts?

NORMAN FRANKLIN

19 Randolph Rd., W.9.

Socialism and War

I always read "Observer's" column with interest, but sometimes come up against statements neither self-evident nor following necessarily on what has gone before.

I am referring now to a recent statement: "The problem of National Socialism is to change over from the war-preparation which is essential to it." It occurs to me that you equate rather readily the socialist party of this country, which supports the war, with the party called National Socialist in Germany. I fail to see the basis of this equation, because the socialist party of this country has had the German example for several years before its eyes, and has denounced it. It cannot possibly, therefore, appear to them that war-preparation is essential to their socialism in the same way that it has been called essential to Hitler's National Socialism.

If "Observer" has good reasons for believing that it will be impossible to convert the systems of war-socialism to a peacetime system, I should be glad to see them expressed more explicitly, and with very special reference to the fact that the socialist leaders do not share his opinions themselves.

ALISON DOUGLAS

121 Balshagray Avenue, Glasgow, W.1

"Observer" replies: The public professions of Socialism by the Labour Party leaders do not overcome the difficulty. In fact, no way out of the economic impasse of Capitalism has been found but war-preparation. I do not say that it is impossible to convert war-socialism to peace-socialism, but that the tremendous difficulties—the truly revolutionary implications—are ignored by "the socialist leaders."

GROUP NOTES

Organism or Organization

By JOHN BARCLAY

I DO not believe it is possible to organize friendship, yet until we have a "society of friends" there is little hope of abolishing war. The method of cell formation and the gradual building up of new cells to form such a society is the accepted method of the Peace Pledge Union as founded by Dick Sheppard. Within each cell must be the germ of friendship powerful enough to germinate endless similar organisms. The essential task of each group within the PPU would seem to be the preservation and transmission of friendship. Organization, as understood in the business world, has no meaning within such a body.

In commerce it is considered just to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest—successful business needs shrewd organizers. In the pacifist society, now slowly emerging, to give is more blessed than to receive, and the character of the individual is the rock on which we are building. Character takes the place of profits. It is natural that when the problems of mere existence become more difficult, the group calls for guidance and outside authority. It is then that the organism and not the organization needs strengthening. The most powerful stimulant at such times is the personal relationship between the centre and the cells. No formal business meeting, however well run, can supply the new dynamic or renew the vision. People depend upon each other, and unless there is a sense of understanding and affection between them, no firm foundation can be laid for the "society of friends" which we are attempting to build.

Old ideas die hard. It is always difficult to persuade people that democracy is a spirit and not a ballot box. The preservation of the spirit seems to me the most important duty in the organization of the PPU.

THE LIVERPOOL CASE

On February 14 I addressed a meeting of pacifists—FoR, CPG, Society of Friends, and PPU—in the Holly Oak Hall, Liverpool. My subject was "Falsehood in Wartime". Unknown to me or the organizers, two members of the Liverpool CID were present. A jazz band in the adjoining hall made both speaking and hearing difficult. At the end of the meeting, after I had spoken for nearly 100 minutes, I was arrested and taken to Dale

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member: I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained, is: PPU HEADQUARTERS, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Street Police Station and charged under DORA with making false statements and also ones likely to "cause alarm and despondency". I asked for bail but it was refused. I spent the night in a police cell.

Next day, in court, I was remanded for a week in custody, bail again being refused. I was lodged in Walton Gaol, but owing to the overwhelming kindness of Liverpool friends, quantities of food found their way to my cell. I also received a large number of letters from all over the country.

After two further remands on bail, my case was heard before the Liverpool Stipendiary on March 7. The day before the case was due to be heard, the police withdrew the more serious of the two charges—that of making false statements—and I had to face the less serious but ludicrous charge of causing "alarm and despondency". After an all-day hearing, and very largely owing to the magnificent work of my counsel, Mr. Platts Mills, I was fined only £10; the costs of the prosecution were paid by the police.

I would like to take this opportunity of thanking the innumerable friends who have written to both my wife and myself. It is quite impossible for us to answer personally all these letters.

ASSOCIATION OF PACIFIST LAND WORKERS

A group of conscientious objectors engaged by the Essex War Agricultural Executive Committee on land-work in West Mersea, Essex, have recently founded an organization to be known for the time being as the Association of Pacifist Land Workers.

The idea in the first instance is to form groups throughout Essex, but membership is open to all conscientious objectors engaged in land-work. The objects of the association are: "to safeguard and promote the interests of conscientious objectors engaged in work on the land, to act as a liaison between them and their employers, and to enable them as an organized body to give the maximum service to the community."

Those interested should write to Douglas G. Rogers, c/o Mrs. Biscoe, Barron Hill Farm, West Mersea, Colchester, enclosing a stamped, addressed envelope

Women's Section

WHAT CAN WOMEN DO NOW?

By JOYCE COOPER

IT is a very perplexing question that the average pacifist woman has to face, because at this time there does not seem much that she can do, except hold the faith. That, in itself, is a great deal, but it is not enough; there must be practical ways in which the faith manifests itself.

Women all over the country are "putting their backs into it" with a zeal never reached before, on numerous war jobs, and it seems that the pacifist woman is inclined to sit back and imagine that the moment is not ripe and that she must wait until the moment comes.

Nothing can be further from the truth. It is for her to create the moment. Every moment is the right one if it brings with it opportunity, and opportunity is nearly always there for the looking.

What, then, can women do? They can sell Peace News at street corners; and many do, with admirable results. But that again is not enough.

MILITARY POMP

The small town in which I live has been having a "War Weapons Week". There has been an air of festivity about the place, and almost every child has been seen carrying a Union Jack. On the first day I stood and watched for a moment the procession of soldiers and ARP and civil defence workers as it wended its way to the Town Hall for the inauguration ceremony.

The route was crowded with mothers and children, the children shouting with joy at the mere prospect of seeing such a spectacle, never realizing (how could they?) that it was all a contribution to the death and destruction of other children in Germany and Italy.

The mothers, on the other hand, were not so sure about it. One of them said to me, "This is a ghastly show"; but it did not prevent her from pushing her three small children to a front place on the kerb. All that is needed for such a woman is the pacifist position put to her in a way that she would not recognize as pacifism—a harder thing to do than to argue the pacifist case in open debate. She was on the fringe, "almost persuaded", like Agrippa of old; and a little push—or not anything so violent; rather, say, a hand laid on the arm—and she would no longer be standing with her children watching with more or less delight while tanks and guns went by.

REASON v. PROPAGANDA

There must be multitudes of women like her, bewildered, hesitating, not knowing what to think, not insensible to the quiet voice of reason and humanity, and yet all but deafened by the scream of propaganda.

Here the pacifist woman has her chance. If ever there was a case for a word in season it is here. She has only to go out among her fellows and she will find her golden opportunity, needing no extensive search and only the simplest preparation, to be of practical use to the cause for which she and all of us are striving.

PEACE POSSIBILITIES CONFERENCE

Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Saturday, March 22, at 2.30 p.m.

Women delegates should bring with them a slip on which their name and address and the group or organization to which they belong are clearly written. Tickets for delegates will not be issued. The delegate's fee of 1s. will be payable at the door.

Admission by leaflet. A leaflet is now ready, setting out the purpose of the conference, which will admit the bearer. These are for non-delegates and should be given only to those genuinely interested. They are available for men as well as women.

Circulation Notes

A CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS

By John W. Cowling

RECENT weeks have seen a revival of public meetings and conferences held by progressive organizations of various kinds. This is significant, for last year there was a period of some months without public meetings, other than those sponsored by the authorities.

Meetings held by other organizations have always provided good pitches for sellers of Peace News; results have always been better than those from ordinary street-selling. So we must see that in suitable cases Peace News sellers are posted outside. Keep a watchful eye for any opportunities in your own district!

London groups in particular have a chance to help us in this respect. On Sunday there will be a London and Home Counties conference in connexion with the People's Convention, at the Royal Hotel; on Monday evening there will be the public meeting arranged by the National Council for Civil Liberties to protest against the BBC's action in banning well-known personalities from the microphone.

Arrangements have been made for these meetings to be "covered"—though that need not stop any more sellers who can be present (so long as they bring their own copies and posters.)

But to take advantage of all such opportunities in the future we need a rota of volunteers—people who may be notified whenever there is a meeting of this type in the Central London area. Only in this way can we ensure that no chance is missed.

HOW TO HELP

In addition, volunteers are badly needed so that selling can be carried on regularly at suitable pitches in Central London.

It is also intended to arrange mass-selling in the same area, and for this, too, volunteers are wanted.

If you can help in any or all of these directions, therefore, please send your name and address to the London PPU Area Organizer—Donald Port, 8 Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.1, who is making plans in co-operation with the Women's Section, on whose behalf an appeal for volunteers was launched recently.

When sending names please state whether you are volunteering for selling (a) outside meetings; (b) at a regular pitch (state if you prefer a particular time and day of the week); (c) mass-selling. Volunteers will be supplied with copies and posters.

The above suggests this week's sales hint. In the past we have had evidence that many non-pacifist readers belonged to other organizations—such as the ILP, Women's Co-operative Guilds, and so on. If you have any acquaintances in local branches of such bodies, therefore, find out if they would be interested in Peace News. Such people might have found it impossible to get the paper since the wholesalers stopped supplying it to local newsagents.

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A Friend to the Vultures

AN old vulture was sitting on a naked prominence, with her young about her, whom she was instructing in the arts of a vulture's life, and preparing, by the last lecture, for their final dismission to the mountains and the skies.

"My children," said the old vulture, "you will the less want my instructions, because you have had my practice before your eyes; you have seen me snatch from the farm the household fowl, you have seen me seize the leveret in the bush, and the kid in the pasture; you know how to fix your talons, and how to balance your flight when you are laden with your prey. But you remember the taste of more delicious food: I have often regaled you with the flesh of man."

"Tell us," said the young vultures, "where man may be found, and how he may be known; his flesh is surely the natural food of a vulture. Why have you never brought a man in your talons to the nest?"

"He is too bulky," said the mother: "when we find a man we can only tear away his flesh, and leave his bones upon the ground."

"Since man is so big," said the young ones, "how do you kill him? You are afraid of the wolf and of the bear; by what power are vultures superior to man? Is man more defenceless than a sheep?"

"We have not the strength of man," returned the mother, "and I am sometimes in doubt whether we have the subtlety; and the vultures would seldom feed upon his flesh, had not nature, that devoted him to our uses, infused into him a strange ferocity, which I have never observed in any other being that feeds upon the earth."

"Two herds of men will often meet and shake the earth with noise, and fill the air with fire. When you hear noise and see fire, with flashes along the ground, hasten to the place with your swiftest wing, for men are surely destroying one another; you will then find the ground smoking with blood and covered with carcasses, of which many are dismembered and mangled for the convenience of the vulture."

"But when men have killed their prey," said the pupil, "why do they not eat it? When the wolf has killed a sheep, he suffers not the vulture to touch it till he is satisfied himself. Is not man another kind of wolf?"

"Man," said the mother, "is the only beast who kills that which he does not devour, and this quality makes him so much a benefactor to our species."

"If men kill our prey and lay it in our way," said the young one, "what need shall we have of labouring for ourselves?"

"Because man will, sometimes," replied the old mother, "remain for a long time quiet in his den. The old vultures will tell you when you are to watch his motions. When you see men in great numbers moving close together, like a flock of storks, you may conclude that they are hunting, and that you will soon revel in human blood."

"But still," said the young one, "I would gladly know the reason of this mutual slaughter. I could never kill what I could not eat."

"My child," said the mother, "this is a question which I cannot answer, though I am reckoned the most subtle bird of the mountain. When I was

young, I used frequently to visit the eerie of an old vulture, who dwelt upon the Carpathian rocks; he had made many observations; he knew the places that afforded prey round his habitation, as far in every direction as the strongest wing can fly between the rising and setting of the sun; he had fed year after year on the entrails of men. His opinion was that men had only the appearance of animal life, being really vegetables with a power of motion; and that as the boughs of an oak are dashed together by the storm, that swine may fatten upon the falling acorns, so men are, by some unaccountable power, driven one against another, till they lose their motion, that vultures may be fed.

"Others think they have observed something of contrivance and policy among these mischievous beings; and those that hover more closely round them pretend that there is, in every herd, one that gives directions to the rest, and seems to be more eminently delighted with a wide carnage. What it is that entitles him to such pre-eminence we know not; he is seldom the biggest or the swiftest, but he shows by his eagerness and diligence that he is, more than any of the others, a friend to the vultures."

This is part of a paper (The Idler, No. XXII) published by Dr. Johnson on September 16, 1758, at the height of the Seven Years' War. (On the re-publication of the work in volumes, Dr. Johnson substituted a paper On the Imprisonment of Debtors, which now stands as The Idler, No. XXII.)

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ACCOMMODATION

FAMILY (two young children), food reform vegetarians require accommodation near Exeter, end June, 1-2 weeks. Box 701, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST and WIFE want house, flat, or rooms, preferably unfurnished, in or near Llandudno. Box 700, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST COUPLE in country district, N.W. Lancs, offer home to one or two children from danger area. Box 699, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG MAN requires, at the end of March furnished rooms, or partial board, in clean, quiet, and comfortable house in or around London. Write particulars and terms to Alun Price, 96 Goddard Ave., Swindon, Wilts.

LAND & COMMUNITY

C.O., 20, urgently requires land work; no experience; secondary education. Box 698, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (28), 8 months' experience nurseryman and market gardening, handyman, and car driver, wants to help provide food for poor hard hit by war; what suggestions or offers? Rought, Kims, Orchard Lane, Amersham, Bucks.

C.O.s seeking land work should write Rev. S. Crawford, 5 Oxford St., Wolverton, Bucks.

LAND wanted to rent for smallholding; two to four acres, light, arable soil; cottage if possible. Box 697, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST (25) and possibly wife seek market gardening or agricultural work; inexperienced but willing to learn; can drive car. G. R. D., 62 Oakfield Rd., Croydon.

THE CROFT COMMUNITY urgently needs a typewriter in good condition. Box 693, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

URGENTLY WANTED. Buy or rent, cottage, house, or bungalow with large garden or land suitable market gardening. McCann, Bromsash, Ross-on-Wye.

LITERATURE & C.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. SEND 6d. for 24-page Esperanto text book, peace, Esperanto, and other stickers (for envelope, etc.), printing samples, etc. W. J. Brigden, 232 Sellincourt Rd., S.W.17.

PERSONAL

COMPANION wanted for few days' rock climbing holiday second half April. Box 692, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED for hire (consider purchase), good s/h piano for C.O. land drainage community. Cricket Club Pavilion Kettering.

SITUATIONS VACANT

LORRY driver wanted, Bristol district, capable of handling heavy goods vehicle, long distance; state age, full particulars experience, etc. Box 696, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

NEWS OF C.O.s

"HAVING decided that conscientious objection is recognized, we intend to see that the law is maintained," said Lord Croft, in reply to Lord Faringdon's question in the House of Lords, on March 5, about the inquiry into alleged ill-treatment of COs in Liverpool.

The report of the court of inquiry did not find that any conscientious objectors who had committed offences had been refused courts-martial and instead threatened with coercion, he added. Any cases in which disciplinary action was deemed necessary as a result of this court of inquiry were sub judice.

Mr. Stephen Usherwood, of Coulsdon, Surrey, writes concerning our report of the case of Mr. D. S. J. Garrod on February 21:

"Mr. Garrod, like the rest of us, had a circular early last August from the Surrey LEA stating that COs would be given two months' notice of 'leave of absence without pay for the duration of the emergency' from the date of the tribunal's decision, whether that decision gave them conditional or unconditional exemption. The only trace of victimization I can see in this is the withholding of pay. COs could scarcely expect to enjoy the amenities of civilian life and pay while their colleagues went on active service. But Mr. Garrod has apparently been allowed to continue his job for nearly four months after the tribunal's decision.

I should very much like to know also whether he has been asked to resign, or merely given 'leave of absence'—a very different thing."

ADVISORY BUREAU CHANGES

Balham and Tooting.—R. C. Couzens, 27 Elmboyrne Rd., Balham, S.W.17.
Finchley.—F. Hutchings, 77 Windermere Ave., Finchley, N.3.
Greenford.—H. V. Fuller, Maycroft, Reynolds Rd., Beaconsfield, Bucks.
Luton.—Mr. Evans, 85 Stockingstone Rd., Luton.

ADVERTISEMENTS

SITUATIONS VACANT (Contd.)

RADIO Service Engineers. Pacifist can give information re two vacancies, E.15 district; pacifists employed; trade union; no war work. L. Gateum, 157 Winchester Rd., E.4.

REQUIRED, young mother's help for boy of 2; cheerful and even temperament; fond of country; wages £1 weekly. Howell, 15 St. Aldate St., Gloucester.

SOMERSET. Man wanted for market garden; able to drive lorry preferred; state experience, etc. Box 695, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, an experienced poster, showcard, sign and silk screen artist (West Town). Box 691, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, Handyman, Building maintenance, or would train one. Cross, Jobbing Builder, 4 Moorfield Rd., Cowley, Uxbridge.

WOMAN wants afternoon or evening work North London. Box 702, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

PACIFIST LADY (26), part/full time, London or Kent; secretarial, newspaper, P.P.U. organizing experience. Box 690, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

REFINED, homely person, 49 seeks post as housekeeper to widower in Hertford. Box 694, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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ILLP. dance, Brook Green Hotel, Hammersmith, Mar. 22, 7 p.m. Public meeting, Oddfellows Hall Hammersmith Rd., March 30, 10.30 a.m.

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH RALLY. Sunday, Mar. 23, at Youth House, 250 Camden Rd., N.W.1; open meeting 10.30 a.m.; international social 2.30 p.m.

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COMMUNITY

No. 1

To be published about the middle of each month as a Supplement to "Peace News"

March 14, 1941

Why Community?

SOME of our readers may ask why the additional monthly page should be devoted to Community. We will try to explain.

It is, we are convinced, by no accident that the peace movement is producing from itself an increasing number of efforts toward practical community. Material and spiritual causes co-operate in this consequence. The enforced segregation and congregation of conscientious objectors assigned to work on the land during a period—now ended—when there were no jobs for them to take; the social isolation of those whose convictions detach them from the national war-effort; the acknowledgment, among many, that the extremity of total war is the outcome of the conflict between an individualistic morality and an industrial system which demands, in order to function creatively, a new sociality and co-operation; the urge to embody this acknowledgment in action, that is, in an effort to eradicate this egoism from the fabric of one's daily living—all these causes are simultaneously at work to create the contemporary community movement in its various forms, which range from agricultural subsistence communities, through income-pooling societies, to the enhanced human fellowship of pacifist groups.

Behind this multiform but single impulse is an urge to solve the fundamental social problem of our time—which is to discover a way of living, a concrete social pattern, whereby human, or Christian, values may be preserved alive. The preservation of these values generally presents itself to the British mind in the phrase, "the defence of democracy". But the ambiguity of the current concept of democracy, though it is being revealed to us of the minority day by day, is concealed from the majority of our fellow-citizens. They do not distinguish between democracy as a political system, whereby the will of the majority prevails, and democracy as a system of values which postulates as the condition of a good society the utmost liberty for the person that is compatible with social coherence.

Though the Briton knows little history, he lives by it; and a cause of much of his confusion is that these two distinct concepts of democracy have been intimately related in British history. The religious conviction of the validity of the individual person was the inspiration of the great movement for political equality. But political equality, unaccompanied by education worthy of the new responsibilities of citizenship, has created the mass-democracy which, swayed by propaganda, incapable of mental and spiritual independence, and hypnotized by the majoritarian formula, threatens to sweep away the respect for the validity of the person which is the sanction of its own power.

Against this there is no short-term defence other than a constant appeal to the indefinable but still real tradition of British liberty; and it is imperative that this appeal should be both reasonable and imaginative. You cannot at once appeal to the better nature of your fellow-men and scandalize it by your own anarchical extravagance. But the only long-term defence against this degeneration of industrial mass-democracy into totalitarianism is the creation of a new form of society in which human and Christian values shall be decisive. By a deliberate and sustained effort of the human will we must reverse the existing process whereby values are determined by the economic and social mechanism and replaced by one wherein human values, embodied in the practice of actual living, determine the nature of the economic and social mechanism. That is the aim of the Community movement.

THE EXTENSION OF COMMUNITY

IN articles in previous issues of Peace News I have maintained:

- (1) That totalitarianism is the logical outcome of capitalism.
- (2) That Communism is not a real alternative to Fascism, since both spring from the injustices and breakdown of capitalism, adopt a form of totalitarian collectivism, and set up a vast bureaucracy which tends to become a new privileged class to maintain which becomes the primary concern of government.
- (3) That democracy can be saved only by a social—that is, a spiritual—awakening, the substitution of human for material and power values.
- (3) That in the absence of spiritual material and power values, the duty devolves upon independent groups, and in particular upon pacifists, to find salvation in new ways of living, a new order of human relations.

It is important to grasp that society cannot be liberated from without, that is, by the colossal party political machines that have been so carefully constructed in recent years. Modern man must be awakened to the fact that he has degenerated into a robot and that his immediate duty is to save himself body and soul. He must claim the elemental right to labour with his whole mind, free from all exploitation; to live on Nature's wholesome bounty and in lively human fellowship; the right to flee from the bondage of profit, of having to eat devitalized food, chemical calories and vitamins, and to worship a galaxy of nationalist and other ideological gods.

The beginning of the modern fall of man was the collapse of craft and of the fellowship of creative minds, and the unwilling, often strongly resisted, acceptance of the capitalist machine, the owner of which operated on the principle that it was his right to secure the maximum of wealth for himself and his family.

From that fall have sprung unspeakable brutalities, new forms of social and international domination, mechanistic, total war, the class struggle, and finally the totalitarian State. The pri-

That is why the Community movement is central to Pacifism, so soon as Pacifism is regarded as a positive and not a negative movement; when it is seen to be not primarily a movement to destroy war but to create peace, and therefore to create the basic conditions of peace. Thus the Community movement looks steadily toward the integration of the Pacifist movement with society as a whole, in the belief that so soon as the grim period of war is over, it will be revealed as the forerunner of the new society. It will then welcome to itself thousands who are engaged in this war with the conviction that they are fighting to save the values which we are building to preserve. The Community movement seeks during the stress of war to lay the foundations of a city of refuge in which the spirit of freedom may live.

This is an ambitious, indeed an overwhelming, task. The Community movement is fantastically small compared to the colossus of the totalitarian war-state. It is not, and cannot be, more than a tiny seed of new life, a few grains of leaven, the miniature of a social pattern. Those who in their hearts believe that God is with the big battalions only, will be sceptical, if not contemptuous of it. Its modest, or twopenny-halfpenny plans and achievements will be of no significance to them. Eppure si muove, "nevertheless, it moves."

Finally, since every assertion of a positive in a complex historical situation is liable to be interpreted as a negation, it must be plainly declared that the community movement is not an alternative to propaganda or political action. Rightly understood, Community in its widest sense is the disinterested fellowship whereby the propaganda and political action of pacifism are kept true to their own final purpose. When these offend against the spirit of community—in the group, the movement, or the nation as a whole—they are false.

by

WILFRED WELLOCK

many aim of all capitalist wars is to defend class privilege and power and imperialism.

ANTITHESIS OF CAPITALISM

The word which best expresses the antithesis of capitalism is community: the former is anti-social, the latter social. The aim of capitalism is private profit, personal and family prosperity; its principle is competition or the survival of the crafty. The aim of community is life, inspired by the knowledge that the more abundant life is derived from friendly human relations; its principle is service, the creation of social value—in the things produced and in human relations by and through their production.

To accept community is to live in all things, not merely to earn a living; it is to create, not to exploit; to fulfil and become, not to hoard; to co-operate and share, not to command and monopolize: it is to know that to give all is to receive all.

The emergence of robotism is the final condemnation of capitalism, or the profit motive in industry. The worship of profit and of the machine is one; its final product is the robot, or mechanized man, since man ultimately becomes the thing he worships. As robotism eats into the human soul the soul is fed increasingly on opiates—football pools, dog and horse betting, screaming newspapers, cinemas, the wireless, suburbia, etc.

NEW WAY OF LIVING

In starting out on the quest for a new way of living, one might do worse than remember the summing up of the writer of Ecclesiastes:

There is nothing better for a man than he should eat and drink and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour. This also I saw, that it was from the hand of God.

In the search for labour in which the soul can find good, one naturally turns toward the land, since the land offers the completest freedom from the tyranny of the machine and of machine civilization. But obviously only a section of the community can hope to gain a living on the land, or in close touch with the land, at any rate for a long time to come, whereas all ought to be able to live rationally.

There are, of course, immense possibilities in combining land work with cottage and village industries, especially with the aid of the electric motor, and these must be explored, indeed they are being explored already; but in the meantime something must be done to develop the spirit of community in urban areas, and perhaps even to change the nature and spirit of large-scale industry.

In regard to the latter, it is important to lay down and apply this principle: that, whatever work is to be done, the men who are to do it should be allowed to decide how and under what conditions they will do it. This raises the vexed question of hand v. machine labour. I personally am not averse from machine labour as such, but I think there is a limit to its human or spiritual value, and that thousands of things made by machinery would give infinitely more plea-

Lincolnshire

Farm Scheme

THE Community Land Training Association was formed as the outcome of two conferences convened at Langham in November and December 1940 under the auspices of the Peace Pledge Union. In itself the C.L.T.A. is a purely consultative, advisory and co-ordinating body. Its first practical undertaking was to inspire and sponsor the formation of a society, shortly to be legally constituted as a Friendly Society, in order to acquire a mixed farm of 309 acres in North Lincolnshire, which shall be conducted as an economically remunerative enterprise; but the real purpose for which the farm will be acquired and conducted is to provide a full training for pacifists who have a genuine vocation for work on the land.

The enterprise is thus to be distinguished clearly, on the one hand, from a scheme for providing agricultural work for COs merely for the duration of the war. Their needs are being increasingly met by the War Agricultural Committees in the various counties. The Lincolnshire farm is designed to be a training-farm for pacifists who have discovered that their life-vocation is work on the land. Furthermore, it is intended that the training shall be reserved primarily for those pacifists who wish to become skilled agriculturists in community settlements. The governing idea of the founders is that agriculture must be the basis of any coherent attempt to create nuclei of a new society; but that the communities which are these nuclei must not be conceived as exclusively agricultural. On the contrary, they will, as they develop, have need

(Continued on page ii)

sure and satisfaction to maker and user were they made by hand.

GUILD SYSTEM

This means that those who desire to experience community should seek to work together in guilds, free from all exploitation, and with freedom to choose their method of production. They would work neither for money nor leisure, but to eat and drink, to enjoy fellowship and to find good in their labour. Their art and skill would go into their work, not into their leisure, into homes and market places, not into art galleries and museums.

Many who could not even go this length might desire to form communities on an income-sharing basis. For one thing leads to another, and, in the time that is approaching, the need for community, for fellowship, will be vital.

Assuming the spread of totalitarianism, let us bear in mind that a totalitarian Britain may be a very different thing from a totalitarian Germany; especially if we seek to preserve as much of our freedom as possible as we move toward the totalitarian State. It is very doubtful whether any of the ground that is all too readily being conceded to authority will be recovered when the war is over.

LINE OF DEVELOPMENT

Moreover, even within the four walls of a totalitarian State, there is enormous scope for variations in the practice of the National Socialism which it will find inevitable. There is no integral reason why development should not proceed on the lines of Guild Socialism or Syndicalism, the principle of which is to place the control of each unit of industry in the hands of those who operate it. If that possibility be grasped, it can be prepared for, so that at the critical moment golden opportunities may be seized.

It is also well to remember that the chief concern of the heads of even a totalitarian State is to make their régime a success, and also that in a period of revolutionary change a large amount of latitude has to be given to the man on the spot, the local leaders.

As I read the signs of the times, we have now reached one of those rare periods in the world's evolution when life—individual, national and universal—becomes like molten metal, capable of being moulded into almost any shape.

Therein lies a supreme challenge to pacifism, an unprecedented opportunity to objectify its creative idealism in the civilization of the future.

LINCOLNSHIRE FARM SCHEME - (ctd. from page 1)

and room for many other kinds of workers. Economically, they are to be regarded as enclaves — "island communities", to use Professor Scott's expressive phrase—within the existing economic system, and their first need is to be able to "export" enough to enable them to "import" the necessities which they cannot produce themselves.

However, the economic structure of the new community is not a matter to be dealt with in an obiter dictum. The point is that "The Laurels" is intended to train men to become skilled and responsible workers on the agricultural side of such communities. But—here we have to distinguish the Lincolnshire from the Somerset enterprise—it is not intended that the Lincolnshire farm itself shall be run as a community. Naturally, the pacifists who are being trained will live in community; but the purpose of the enterprise precludes their permanent establishment at the farm. When their period of training is completed they will move to fresh fields and pastures new. Conversely, as far as possible, training will be available to members of existing communities who feel the need of enlarging their agricultural knowledge and experience.

So far we have dealt with the purpose for which the Lincolnshire farm is to be acquired. Now for the financial structure of the Friendly Society which is to acquire it. Its share capital under existing regulations must not exceed £10,000. This is being raised in the form of interest-free loans and shares bearing interest at a rate not exceeding 3½%. It was originally intended that the rate of interest should not exceed 3%; but since the Somerset society had fixed its maximum rate at 3½%, it was felt necessary to fall into line and adopt the same rate. Subscribers are, however, requested to accept a rate lower than 3½% wherever possible. Moreover, outright donations are the most valuable of all forms of help. The more the burden of fixed charges can be reduced, the better for the future of the enterprise.

Up to the moment of writing, about £3,500 has been received or promised under these various heads. Since the purchase of the farm was urgent, and it was impossible to raise the purchase money before our brief option expired, a generous friend has stepped into the breach and taken upon himself the responsibility of purchasing it outright at £8,500, thereby giving the society an extra three months in which to raise the money. We therefore urgently appeal to all would-be investors or subscribers to enable us to raise the full £10,000 by the beginning of June in order that we may become direct owners of the farm; failing which we shall become the tenants of the purchaser. He is willing to sell it back to us at the original figure; but the double conveyance will involve us in heavy additional expense.

Meanwhile, since work on a farm admits of no interregnum, the purchase of stock and equipment has already begun. A prospectus of the Society is now being prepared as expeditiously as possible, and copies will be obtainable from the Secretaries, C.L.T.A. Langham, near Colchester, to whom all subscriptions and promises should be sent without delay. Some criticisms of the scheme have been made on the ground that by offering interest or dividends on the money subscribed, the Society is not breaking away from the capitalist system. The answer is that, if only it were possible to break away from the system completely, we should be most happy to do so. But the fact is that relatively few of those who are eager to set the enterprise in motion are in a position to forgo all return upon their money. "We create not how we will, but how we can."

J. MIDDLETON MURRY

Community Wants

Stapleton Group (A. G. Higgins, the Brotherhood Church, Stapleton, nr. Pontefract, Yorks) would welcome inquiries for their knitted goods. "Wool is rather difficult to get and costs a good deal more, and there is not the same choice in shades," they write, "but the knitting industry is not doing too badly."

The Transpennine Christian Group hopes to create a community centre on a mixed farm of 70 acres on good soil 4 miles south of Wakefield. Loans on a non-commercial basis are welcomed from friends sympathetic to the project. (Max Walker, High Fold, Glasshouses, near Harrogate.)

Reporting Progress

REPORTS received from various community groups and similar organizations, news of recent activities, and plans for the future are summarized below. We should be glad to receive such accounts from time to time—as regularly as possible, in fact—for publication in the Community Supplement, and these should be sent to the Editor, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

POOLED RESOURCES

A Christian brotherhood (known as the Universal Brotherhood) consisting of seven adults and four children, assisted by several friends, has been successfully functioning at Potters Bar, Middlesex, since early November. (Communications to Mrs. V. O'Connell, 10 Hillcrest.)

The Brotherhood, says a report of its activities, "accepting all Christ's commandments literally as an ideal way of life, is endeavouring to find and follow this ideal faithfully and to help others to find it. Its members aim to help each other spiritually and economically in resisting the evils of the present economy to the end that each shall be earning his living in a way that is, according to his conscience, of commensurate service to the world." The members have pooled their resources.

A CHESHIRE FELLOWSHIP

Launched last July, the Cheadle Hulme Community Fellowship (4 Queen's Road, Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire) can already be said to have achieved some success. Three families and a woman teacher gave up their homes, rented a large house, and pooled any income above fixed charges and commitments such as insurance, building society payments, and men's travelling expenses.

Each member of the community has a small annual dress allowance and a very small weekly personal allowance. Although one man lost his job at the outset, the scheme has so far proved financially sound. The community has also devoted some of its resources to social service, and the members have given service to a nearby refugee hostel.

Goose Green Farm

THE great adventure at Goose Green Farm (Sutton Mallet, near Bridgwater, Somerset) has begun.

Though possession is not due until Lady Day, an advance guard of three, of whom I am one, has already arrived and has established itself in one of the cottages. Incidentally, the cottage delights in the name of "The Nut Shell".

Stacks of work on all sides stare one in the face. It would seem that there can scarcely be time for abstract discussions on community: now it is a case of really getting on with the job.

I find it of extraordinary interest that the site of Goose Green Farm should be Sedgemoor. Was it not at Sedgemoor that the last battle on English soil was fought? If this is so, then it does seem truly remarkable—to me, at any rate—that this locality should somehow come to be chosen for this pioneer community experiment: the community on a battlefield—though, to be accurate, it is not the battlefield itself, but overlooking it.

Hitherto I had always imagined Sedgemoor as a blasted, bleak sort of place. Not a bit of it. Here it is wooded, fertile, and pleasant, set amidst the Quantocks (snow visible on them to-day) and the Mendips—and quite off the beaten track. There is not even a shop in Sutton Mallet; and, what is perhaps even more remarkable, not even a public house!

We three here come from Yorkshire (myself), Lancashire, and Devon. I gather from Donald Weight, whom I have assisted from the start in general work, that a large sum still requires to be raised, and that right speedily.

I am writing by an oil lamp in a somewhat smoky atmosphere. The room is one we have decorated, the colour scheme old gold. I find the effect precisely that of Manchester on a sunny day.

HAROLD WILSON

A NEW SEASON

Having added to its livestock population in recent months, the Kingston Community (Rectory Farm, Charney Bassett, Wantage, Berks) is now carrying out the agricultural plans made for the coming season. Potatoes are being made the main field crop, but there will also be cabbages, savoy, brussels sprouts, broccoli, peas, and beans, as well as smaller quantities of other vegetables in the kitchen garden.

FRUIT DISTRIBUTION

The account of the past season of the Community Fruit Service (Bleaden, Weston-super-Mare) tells of the benefits bestowed on a large number of evacuee children who spent the summer in the district, though local children also benefited from the crops of strawberries, raspberries, cherry plums, and other fruits. The chief vegetable crop here was peas. Later in the season there were apples, and there was also a big crop of grapes.

Owing to difficulties of transport, they had to limit the geographical scope of their distribution, but on the other hand evacuation had about doubled the local child population. Throughout the season they had a number of COs working with them, including two from Jersey. Edwin Clogg has been with them except when he has been touring the country looking up other communities—which was rather often.

During the summer they initiated first-aid classes that went on till the autumn, when they were followed by nursing classes.

RATIONING INTO SHARING

Believing that "the rationing imposed from without must, in human decency, become the sharing of products imposed (by personal self-control) from within", Gerard Reilly (White House, Miswell Lane, Tring, Herts) is attempting to found a self-supporting agricultural and crafts community.

"Starting with a few, who will have to be courageous, persevering, and frugal," he writes, "I hope gradually to increase the numbers as capacity to house and support people grows." He will be glad to hear from anyone interested.

A COLLEGIATE HOUSE

The New Life Movement (founded in 1906), which has temporary offices at Tintagel, North Cornwall, is hoping that a suitable house and grounds may soon be offered as a new headquarters. "This (says the movement's brochure) would no doubt take the form of a Collegiate House, on similar lines to those from which the work proceeded in years gone by."

"There are many people today, living in solitude, who, being out of sympathy with modern life and its methods, are quite unaware that there are kindred souls in a similar position. It is thought that to bring some of these under a common roof—each retaining their simple life in their own bed-sitting rooms yet sharing in a common meal, lecture, and music, each evening, in the Large Hall—is an idea that might appeal to many."

LAND GROUPS

Efforts are being made to form a second group of Land Union, which aims at becoming a multiple organization of market gardens and farms producing vegetables, poultry, and eggs. Kenneth Murphy (of Ackworthy Down, Hartland, Devon) is the organizer of Land Union.

EDUCATIONAL PLANS

Tom S. Field is no longer secretary of the Quaker Community Scheme, but Walter B. Birmingham (Fredley Lodge, Mickleham, Dorking, Surrey) is carrying on in his place. They have been concentrating on plans for a community near London which would look to children's education on a community basis as its first call to social service. Later they hope to develop an agricultural side and gradually make the group more and more self-supporting.

HELPING INTERNEES

Minna Specht, whose community school was broken up by the internment, last June, of all the staff except

one woman, has been organizing the education of the children of her fellow-internees in the Isle of Man. These number some hundreds.

A NORTHERN PROJECT

Stanley Greaves, of 11 Devonshire Terrace, Whitley Bay, Northumberland, is endeavouring to form a Christian community group in the north, and would like to contact anyone who is interested and can help.

SERVICE UNITS

A picture of the practical work undertaken by Pacifist Service Units emerges from reports from one of the units working in the East End of London published in PSU Monthly News for February (1d. from PSU headquarters, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1). The rest centre is not functioning now, but a hostel is provided for people who are unable to get away because of their work. There is also a free legal aid advice bureau, to which people in doubt about their liabilities for rent, etc., when their houses have been bombed go to consult a solicitor. Rest centres in the neighbourhood have been advised of this service by the local authority.

Several months of work among shelterers has stimulated two members of the unit to make a thorough investigation into the social implications of shelter life in the East End, and they have drawn up a detailed memorandum with practical proposals for the neighbourhood in which they are working. "To counterblast the apathy and danger of deterioration evident in shelter life", they suggest "that, in effect, settlement work should be taken into the shelters."

The mobile canteen is now serving nearly a thousand shelterers, whose pennies for food have amounted to £47 in the first month.

THE HOLY NATION

Hugh J. Schonfield (5 The Riding, N.W.11), the President, reports that the Society for the Constitution of a Holy Nation has decided to prepare a memorandum for circulation to organizations for comment and criticism, in preparation for a discussion of the Holy Nation at the next council meeting of the National Peace Council. Work has also been started on a film scenario.

Ellen Dighton, of Dick Sheppard Club (254 Harrow Road, Paddington), writes: "We have now a flourishing women's meeting, a very useful clothes service, and a make-and-mend section." Their biggest problem at present is lack of workers. Two full-time men and some part-time volunteers are wanted at once.

The current issue of the Community Broad-sheet carries 20 pages of articles and notes on community activities. Copies are available (post free, 7d.) from Community Service Committee, Chaneton, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey. A pamphlet written by Dr. George Macleod entitled *How can we make these ideas work?* will shortly be available to groups and interested individuals.

The Adelphi Centre

THE Adelphi Voluntary Service Scheme (The Adelphi Centre, Langham, near Colchester), under the wardenship of Max Plowman, has developed rapidly in recent months. The Langham estate of 35 acres has been enlarged to one of over 80, with the purchase of a small farm and the renting of several adjoining fields. A community of twelve pacifists is devoting all its energies to the cultivation of the greater part of this estate as a single unit.

The new farm has been neglected for years; money is needed for its capital equipment; and any amount of hard work will be demanded if it is to be brought into good heart; but the enlarged holding brings in sight the possibility of self-dependence, which the old one by itself did not.

The better to obtain this proximate goal, the community has moved from "The Oaks" into a cottage in the village. "The Oaks" is thereby left free for the reception of evacuees in greater numbers than hitherto, to be used as the offices of The Adelphi magazine and the recently established Community Land Training Association, and—above all to retain something of its primary function as a conference-house and the nucleus of a pacifist "university".

FRANK LEA